Democratic Union State Ticket. Election Tuesday, October 14. FOR SECRETARY OF STATE.

JAMES S. ATHON, Of Marion County. FOR AUDITOR OF STATE, JOSEPH RISTINE. Of Fountain County. FOR TREASURER OF STATE, MATTHEW L. BRETT. Of Daviess County. FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL, OSCAR B HORD, Of Decatur County. FOR REPORTER OF SUPREME COURT.

MICHAEL C. KERR, Of Floyd County. FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, SAMUEL L. RUGG.

Of Allen County CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS. 1st District-JOHN LAW. JAMES A. CRAVENS. HENRY W. HARRINGTON. WILLIAM S. HOLMAN. EDMUND JOHNSON. ALEXANDER B CONDUITT. DANIEL W. VOORHEES. JOHN PETTIT DAVID TURPIE. JOSEPH K. EDGERTON.

JAMES F. McDOWELL.

Another Braft.

The special Washington dispatches to the Cincinnati Commercial say that "the rumor that another draft is about to be made, has foundation to the extent that the President is determined, in case the country does not at once rally under the policy enunciated in his emancipation proclamation, that he will inforce the draft till our army reaches one million of men."

Would Not Do It!

It is stated on very good authority that some mousing politician of Indiana sent a well-known abolition preacher of this State all the way to Louisville to induce John J. Crittenden to write a letter to some one in Indiana, in which he should denounce or disapprove of the Democratic platform adopted at Indianapolis on the 30th July last. Mr. CRITTENDEN replied to the impertinence by writing a note to the pious missionary, in which he enclosed the resolutions of the conservative and Democratic members of Congress, adopted at Washington in June, 1862, (and writ- a similar character, the Journal has the impu- both the Senate and House of Representatives, ten by Mr. CRITTENDEN himself) and said that which sustained it, in Indiana or elsewhere, should have his prayers for its success. As the Democratic Convention of July 30 adopted the resolutions of the gallant old Kentucky statesman word for word, and every sentiment thereof. it is understood that the crazy abolition preacher came back to Hoosiercom with the largest kind

hardly be published. We are not prepared to say who sent that preacher on an errand of mercy so disinterested, but as a certain merchantable commodity of uncertain value has been perambulating the State, and professing to a deep interest in the position of Mr. CRITTENDEN, it is as likely as not that that political Swiss had something to do in the dirty business. He is in the habit of using all sorts of dirty tools to accomplish his purposes, and he may have prostituted some otherwise decent preacher to perform a very disreputable job. It is not the first time that game was played.

The glorious old Kentucky statesman, however, was not to be caught by this shallow artifice, and the church-so often made a convenience heretofore-did not answer the purpose of that political Maw worm and trickster. He failed to get one word of consolation from that

The Journal's Dilemma.

The Journal is exceedingly troubled over the reproduction of the sentiments it expressed during the fall of 1860 and the winter of 1860-61, in favor of a separation of the States, rather than suffer the evils of civil war. The extracts we published from that print were not garbled or distorted, as it alleges in its issue of yesterday, but fairly represented the views it advocated with great earnestness and zeal. Neither did we charge that the Republicans generally were engaged in a conspiracy to dissolve the Union, but that from the evidence we produced there could be no reasonable doubt but that leaders in that party were in favor of letting the Southern States depart in peace rather than to attempt to coerce them to remain in the Union. Such were the sentiments unequivocally expressed by the Journal, the professed representative of the Republican party of Indiana. And the Journal yet adheres to them. In its issue of yester day it says: "These views, fairly expressed, commend themselves to the practical good sense of the country." We gave the Journal's own expression of them fairly in the extracts we made from it, and now in reaffirming them it says they "commend themselves to the good sense of the country." Certainly this is an unequivocal indorsement of its disunion sentiments

But let us look at the logic of the Journal a little in its silly attempt to evade the responsibility of its deliberately expressed views in favor of letting the States that desired to leave the Union go in peace. It says:

"1st. That as the quotations are made and used the makers lie and know it." and "4th. These views, fairly expressed, commend

themselves to the practical good sense of the And to give it the full benefit of its effort to evade the crushing effect of its own declarations,

we quote still further: We said: "If the seceded States which had not then made war, would come to the Union and

ask permission to leave, thus acknowledging the right of the Union to hold them if deemed wise to do so, we, for one, would vote to give them the permission, rather than begin a war to keep them in." This is all we ever believed or said of the policy of letting the rebel States go. In the first place, we challenge the Journal to show wherein we have misrepresented or per

verted its sentiments in the quotations we made from it. If we had had the space we should have preferred to have given the articles entire that we quoted from, for they would have made its position in favor of division, rather than the alternative of civil war, much stronger than the extracts

Now for a few brief quotations from the Journal to refute, to annihilate in fact, its own interpretation of its position during the fall and winter of 1860-61, which it says was:

"If the seceded States who had not then made war would come to the Union and ask permission to leave," &c

We quote from its own columns: Let the two, or three, or four States which are bent on disunion go out and go to ruin. They solicit their peril, and we are willing they should experience its virtues .- Nov. 10, 1860.

Nothing there about "asking permission to leave."

They know very well that if they are determined to leave the Union, no Republican will care to have them stay. A Union preserved only by intimidation and force is a mockery, and it is better broken than whole. If South Carolina and her associates in folly really want to leave the Union, they can go without a word of objection

from any man north of Mason and Dixon's line. . . . We do not believe in resisting any secession movement in the least .- November 13,

Of what value will an Union be that needs links of bayonets and bullets to hold it together? What better off shall we be with South Carolina in the Union than out of it, if she is to fester with the wounds inflicted by our hands, chafe with the memory of defeat and degradation, and seek the first opportunity of revenge? Is a family better off with a member in it who has to be watched perpetually to keep him from firing the house? We say no. Common sense and humanity sav no. If any State will go from us, let it go. The price of retaining it, if it is to be paid we have got it. We are, therefore, clearly of the opinion that any attempt to resist by force the secession of any State, or combination of States. from the Union, would be unwise and calamitous in the last degree. It is better to preserve lives, and all of friendliness we can with seceding relations, than to preserve the Constitution at cost of war .- November 19, 1860.

"Let them go out." We can not keep them in Florida.......................Jan. 7, 1861 this Union, though we conquer them, and it is Mississippi......................Jan. 9, 1861 better to have them friends out of the family, Alabama......Jan. 11, 1861 than enemies in it .- Dec. 7, 1860.

An alliance between the two sections may exist, but never an union. . This philosophy of secession, then, in our judgment, justifies us in advocating the peaceable departure of the Guif

States .- Dec. 11, 1860. South Carolina has seceded. . . Well, we are a severed nation. We are a divided house, And we are none the worse for it. All the mischief that the apprehension of disunion could do. has been done, and disunion itself can do nothing if we do not force it to. We are well rid of other States follow, let them. If all the South follows, let it. . In God's name, and for humanity's sake, let them go in peace - Dec. 22,

Again: Secession is revolution. We, having estabished our Government by revolution, on the right of a people at any time to change a Government which is oppressive to them, cannot deny that right to those who deliberately declare our Govus, and helped us to assert our claim at the outset .- Nov. 28, 1860.

It was best (to let South Carolina go) because our Declaration of Independence recognizes the Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Carolina had right of a people to change their Government; seceded, but it was rejected. It may be well to because if retained by force she would not be a add here that the CRITTENDEN Compromise was member of the Union; because if subjugated she offered in the Peace Convention as a plan of would be more troublesome than if released; because, in short, war could not maintain the adjustment, but it was rejected by that body. Union, and anything but the Union would not be The secession of seven States, South Carolina, worth maintaining at all .- Feb. 8, 1861.

that was his platform, and the political party favor of letting the rebel States go was, that if jecting the propositions of compromise proposed the seceded States, which had not then made war, by Mr. CRITTENDEN, Mr. Douglas, and the Peace of a flea in his ear! We suppose that letter will it took the position that it was best to let South not justified, but a fearful responsibility rests upon change their government! And these are the views which the Journal says commend themselves to the practical good sense of the country. If the Journal was not engaged in a conspiracy to dissolve the Union, at the time it was arguing what motive had it in advocating that policy? Could it have been anything else than to perpetuate the control of the Government in the hands of the Republican party? To gain that end it was willing to sacrifice the Union.

Plan Proposed by Mr. Crittenden in Congress during the Session of 1860-61 for the Adjustment of our Nationof the Union!

Senate all but South Carolina. Secession the good will of all the States. was threatened by the Gulf States. The representatives of Southern States generally demanded additional constitutional guarantees for the for the adoption or rejection of the CRITTENDEN protection of their rights under the Constitution. Compromise, just as it was offered by the distin-It is not proposed here to decide whether those guished Senator from Kentucky, the following demands were just or unjust, or whether the tri umph of a sectional party in the Presidential election of 1860 was a justification on the part of the Southern States for demanding those additional guarantees for the protection of the rights which they regarded as having been put in jeopardy by the success of that party. The question to be examined is, Could the present civil | ler.*, Clark,* Dixon,* Doolittle,* Darkee * Feswar and the threatened permanent disunion of the States have been averted by the adoption of the bull-* Wade,* Wilkinson* and Wilson*--20. All plan of adjustment proposed by the Senator from Republicans. Kentucky, commonly known as the CRITTENDEN | The Democrats are in Roman; Republicans, a

STATE OF PUBLIC MIND IN THE SOUTH. In a speech in the Senate, January 3d, 1861 see appendix to Congressional Globe, p. 38), Mr.

But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the Southern people have viewed the result of dence that the dominant party of the North, which is soon to take possession of the Federal Government under that election, are determined to invade and destroy their constitutional rights. Believing that their domestic institutions, their tion: hearth-stones and their family altars, are to be guration of a line of policy which shall have for s object the ultimate extinction of slavery in all the States, old as well as new, South as well as ment of events or submit tamely to what they be heard, and would be the best and surest guide think is a fatal blow impending over them and to their Representatives: Therefore,

all they hold dear on earth. WITHOUT COMPROMISE DISUNION INEVITABLE. Appreciating the condition of the country and the necessity of compromise to avoid the calamities of civil war and disunion, Mr. Douglas, in

the same speech, (on page 41), said : In my opinion we have reached a point where n is inevitable, unless some compromise ounded upon mutual concession, can be made, prefer compromise to war. I prefer concession a dissolution of the Union. When I avow myself in favor of compromise, I do not mean that one side should give up all that it has claimed, nor that the other side should give up every thing for which it has contended. Nor do I ask any man to come to my standard; but I simply say that I will meet every one half way who is willing to preserve the peace of the country, and save the Union from disruption upon the principle of compromise and concession.

In the same speech (on page 42) Mr. Douglas

In my opinion we have now reached a point where this agitation (the slavery question) must close, and all the matters in controversy be finally determined by constitutional amendments or civil war and the disruption of the Union are ell, * Peyton, * Phelps, * Pryor, * QUARLES, Riggs* I regret the determination, to which I apprehend the Republican Senators have come, to make no adjustment, entertain no proposition, and listen to no compromise of the matters in controversy. I fear, from all the indications, that they are dis. Americans, 19. posed to treat the matter as a party question, to be determined in caucus in reference to its effects

them than the union of these States.

Ashley, Babbett. Beale, Bingham, Blair, Blake, upon the prospects of their party, rather than Brayton, Buffington, Burlingame, Burnham, Butupon the peace of the country and the safety of terfield, Campbell, Carey. Carter, Case, Coburn, the Union. I invoke their deliberate judgment C. B. Cochrane, Colfax, Conkling, Conway, Corwhether it is not a dangerous experiment for any | win, Covode, H. W. Davis, Dawes, Delano, Dupolitical party to demonstrate to the American ell, Donn, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Elv, ETHEpeople that the unity of their party is dearer to RIDGE, Farnsworth, Fenton, Ferry, Foster, Frank, French, Gooch, Graham, Grow, Haie, Hall, Hel-

CRITTENDEN'S PLAN PROPOSED.

Such was the condition of the public mind and the necessity of adopting some measures to prevent the calamities of civil war and disunion, so forcibly set forth by Mr. Douglas in his able speech in the Senate, from which the foregoing extracts are quoted, that the eminent statesman and patriot of Kentucky, John J. CRITTENDEN. felt called upon as a duty to his country to propose a plan of adjustment to the Senate and the people, which he did December 18th, 1860. [See Congressional Globe, vol. 1, page 114, 1860-61.] At that time not a State had seceded or left the Union. If Congress had acted promptly upon in blood, is far gre ter than the worth of it when the proposition, and adopted it by a vote which would have demonstrated that the North intended to have acted in good faith, there is evidence to show that not a State would have attempted

> secession, excepting perhaps South Carolina. As a part of the history of secession we give the dates when the several States seceded from

the Union: As to the seceding States, we say, South Carolina............ Dec. 20, 1860 Georgia.....Jan. 19, 1861 Texas......Feb. 1, 1861 North Carolina May 21, 1861 It will thus be seen that no border lave State

attempted secession until after the rejection of the terms of settlement proposed by the Peace Convention, which assembled in Washington Feb. 4th, 1861, and likewise those of Mr. CRIT TENDEN. Twenty-one States were represented South Carolina, if we are only wise enough to in the Peace Convention, fourteen Northern and count it a riddance and nothing worse. * * If seven Southern, viz: Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri. The proposition for a conference or convention of five commissioners from each State on the condition of public affairs was first brought forward and adopted by the Legislature of Virginia to adjust "the present unhappy controversies in the spirit in which the Constitution was originally formed." This shows there was ernment is oppressive. What we claimed as our a strong disposition on the part of the border right we cannot deny to those who claim it of slave States to adjust the national difficulties and preserve the Union. The plan of the Peace Convention was submitted to Congress on the 27th day of February, 1861, before Virginia,

Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisi In the face of these declarations, and if space ana, and Texas, all before the 1st of February, permitted we could give many other instances of 1861, gave the Republican party a majority in dence to assert that all it ever believed or said in and hence the responsibility of accepting or rewould come to the Union and ask permission to | Conference rests with the Republican party, and leave, thus acknowledging the right of the Union no proposition would have been acceptable to the to hold them if deemed wise to do so, it, for one, South unless it had been sustained by a majority would vote to give them permission, rather than of the members of that political organization. In begin a war to keep them in And this too making this statement the withdrawal of the after South Carolina had gone without permission, members of Congress from the seceded States is Carolina go, because our Declaration of Inde them for permitting the control of the Governpendence recognizes the right of a people to ment to thus pass into the hands of a sectional party. But while condemning the action of the members who withdrew, it does not lessen the responsibility of the Republican majority in Congress. It was in their power at any time to have kept Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and North in favor of a peaceable dissolution of the Union, Carolina willing and firm members of the Union by adopting either the CRITTENDEN or Peace Convention compromises.

FINAL ACTION UPON THE CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE It was not until Sunday, the 3d of March, 1861, the last day of the 36th Congress, that a Who Responsible for the Failure of vote was permitted in the Senate upon the plan the Crittenden Compromise-The of adjustment known as the "CRITTENDEN Compromise." That vote is given as evidence that the Republican Senators never intended that any at Difficulties and the Perpetuity plan of compromise should be adopted with their approval, but that their party doctrines and the Upon the assembling of Congress, December supremacy of their party in the control of the 3d, 1860, every State in the Union was represent- Government were far superior to their desire for ed in the House of Representatives, and in the the preservation of the Union in peace and with

VOTE IN THE SENATE. Upon the direct vote, taken March 3d, 1861,

was the result in the Senate-veas 19, navs 20; YEAS-Messrs, Bayard, Bigler, Bright, CRIT TENDEN, Douglas, Gwin, Hunter, Johnson of Tennessee, Kennedy, Lane, Latham, Mason, Nicholson, Polk. Pugh, Rice, Sebastian, Thomson and Wigfall-19; of which 17 were Demo-

NAYS-Messrs, Anthony, * Bingham, * Chandsenden.* Foot.* Foster.* Grimes.* Harlan.* King, Morrill, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trum-

*, and Americans in SMALL CAPS. It thus appears that all the Democrats and Americans present in the Senate voted for the CRITTENDEN compromise and all the Republicans Douglas thus referred to the state of public mind present voted against it-not a Republicon vote is recorded in its favor.

VOTE IN THE HOUSE. On February 27th, 1861, Mr. CLEMENS, a Repthat election (Mr. Lincoln's) as furnishing evi- resentative from Virginia, proposed to the House that the CRITTENDEN compromise should be submitted to a vote of the people for adoption or rejection. He proposed the following joint resolu-

WHEREAS, The Union is in danger; and owing assailed, at least by indirect means, and that the to the unhappy divisions existing in Congress, it Federal Government is to be used for the inau- would be difficult, if not impossible, for that body to concur, in both its branches, by the requisite majority, so as to enable it either to adopt such measures of legislation, or to recommend to North, the Southern people are prepared to rush the States such amendments to the Constitution, wildly, madly, as I think into revolution, disun- as are deemed necessary and proper to avert that ion, war, and defy the consequences whatever danger; and whereas, in so great an emergency, they may be, rather than to wait for the develop- the opinion and judgment of the people ought to

> Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That provision ought to be made by law, without delay, for taking the sense of the people, and submitting to their vote the following resolutions [Crittenden's] as the basis for the final and permanent settlement of those disputes that now disturb the peace of the country and threaten the existence of the Union.

> Upon the proposition to submit the CRITTENDEN compromise to the sense of the people, the following was the vote in the House of Representatives February 27th, 1861-yeas 80, pays 113;

> YEAS-Messrs, Adrain, W. C. ANDERSON, AVery, * Barr, * Barritt, * Bocock, Boyeler, Boulig-NEY, BRABSON, Branch, BRIGGS, BRISTOW, Brown,* Burch,* Burnett,* H. F. Clark,* J. B. Clark,* John Cochrane, * Cox. James Craig. * Burton Craige* J.G.Davis* DeJarnette* Demmick,* Edmundson* English* Florence* Fouke, Garnett, GILMER, Hamilton, J. M. HARRIS, J. T. Harris, * HATTON, Holman, Wm. Howard, Hughes, Jenkins,* Kunkel,* Larrabee,* J. M. LEACH, Leake, Logan, Maclay, MALLORY, C. D. Martin.* E. S. Martin. MAYNARD, McClerpand. McKentey, Millson, Montgomery, LABAN T. Moore, J. N. Morris, Nelson, Niblack, No. J. C. Robinson, Rust, Sickles, Simms, Wm. Smith. W. H. N. SMITH, Stevenson. J. N. Stewart, * STOKES, Stout, * Thomas, * Vallandig ham, * VANCE, WEBSTER, Whitney, * Winslow, * Woodson and Wright-80. Democrats, 61;

NAYS-Messrs. C. F. Adams, Aldrich, Alley,

mick, Hickman, Hindman, Hoard, W. A. How- of each State to order and control its own domesard, Humphrey, Hutchins, Irvine, Junkin, F. W. | tic institutions according to its own judgment ex-Kellogg, W. Kellogg, Kenyon, Kilgore, Killinger, | clusively, is essential to the balance of power on DeWitt C. Leach, Lee, Longnecker, Loomis. which the perfection and endurance of our politi-Lovejoy, Marston, McKean, McKnight, McPher- cal fabric depend."

son, Morehead, Morrill, Morse, Nixon, Olin, Pal-

mer, Perry, Pettit, Porter, Potter, Pottle, E. R.

Reynolds, Rice, C. Robinson, Royce, Scranton

Sedgwick, Sherman, Somes, Spaulding, Spinner,

tanton, Stevens, W. Stewart, Stratton, Tappan,

Thayer, Theaker, Tompkins, Train, Trimble,

Vandever, Van Wyck, Verree, Wade, Waldron

Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, Wells, Wilson, Windham, Wood and Woodruff—

Democrats, with a *: Republicans, in Roman;

The following members from Indiana, Messrs.

Case, Colfax, Dunn, Kilgore, Pettitt, Por-

ter, and Wilson, all Republicans, voted against

submitting the CRITTENDEN Compromise to a

vote of the people. Thus the Republicans, hav-

ing a clear majority in the House of Representa-

tives, refused to submit the CRITTENDEN Compro-

WHO RESPONSIBLE?

In the Senate of the United States, on the 3d

day of January, 1861, in discussing the subject

of compromise, referring to his own proposition,

I believe this to be a fair basis of amicable ad

willing to accept this, nor the proposition of the

Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden.) pray

son that in the committee of thirteen, a few days

igo, every member from the South, including

stment. If you of the Republican side are not

Americans, in SMALL CAPS.

mise to the sense of the people.

sional Globe, 1860-61, p. 41.)

off by your pension bills.

confirmed the declarations of Mr. Pugh:

farther, and say that Mr. Toombs was also.

beginning), WITH THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The President's Proclamation.

posed by him to Congress at its late session.

resolutions were adopted-ayes 116, nays 4.

slavery in any of the States in the Union

cite the serious attention or alarm of any portion

of the people of the Republic, and that the in-

le, nor the Governments of the non slavehold-

ng States, have the right to legislate upon or in-

as evidence to the contrary. It is as follows:

And then he goes on to say:

lution which I now read:

nteriere with the institution of slavery in the

"Those who nominated and elected me did so

with the full knowledge that I had made this, and

many similar declarations, and have never recant-

ed faith has been violated.

population of the Union.

vote-aves 161.

States of the Union.

The President has issued his proclamation, de-

Globe, 1860-61, vol. 2, p. 1390,) said:

this Chamber, I heard one of them, who now as

Mr. Douglas said:

ment under the Republican party. After the fall of Sumter the President issued a proclamation calling out 75,000 volunteers to put down the insurrection. In it he stated that 113. Republicans, 110; Americans, 2; Demo- the troops should be used to re establish the Federal authority and repossess the Federal property in the insurrectionary districts. Under that proclamation and for the objects it avowed, the first call of the President for volunteers was promptly filled by members of all political parties. When

Such were the representations made to the

country as to the principles and policy which

should control the administration of the Govern-

our Generals went into the field they issued proclamations declaring that private property should be respected, and that there was no intention of interfering with the domestic institutions of the people or to excite insurrections among the slaves. On the other hand some of them stated that they would aid in suppressing them with an iron hand. On several occasions commanding officers were censured or removed from their positions for issuing emancipation proclamations. We well recollect when, in announcing the fall of Sumter, we stated the contest inaugurated was an abolition war-the inauguration of the "irrepressible conflict"-the indignation of the leadtell me what you are willing to do? Laddress ing Republicans of this city knew no bounds. the inquirs to the Republicans alone, for the rea- They declared that no such purpose was intended, but that the sole object of the war was for the

hose from the cotton States (Messrs, Toombs restoration of the national authority. and Davis,) expressed their readiness to accept Congress assembled in extra session on the 4th he proposition of my venerable friend from Kenof July, 1861. On the 21st of that month the tucky (Mr. Crittenden) as a final settlement of the controversy, if tendered and sustained by the disaster at Bull Run occurred. On the 22d day Republican members. Hence, the sole responsi- of the same month, July, 1861, three months afbility of our disagreement, and the only difficulty ter the commencement of hostilities, the follown the way of an amicable adjustment, is with the ing resolution, offered by Mr. CRITTENDEN, was Republican party. (See Appendix to Congrespassed almost unanimously by both Houses of Congress, to wit: Senator Pugu, in a speech in the Senate, on

That the present deplorable civil war has been the 2d day of March, 1861 (see Congressional forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the The Crittenden proposition has been indorsed constitutional Government and in arms around the almost unanimous vote of the Legislature the capital; that in this national emergency, Kentucky. It has been indorsed by the noble | Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion old Commonwealth of Virginia. It has been and resentment, will recollect only its duty to etitioned for by a larger number of electors of the whole country; that this war is not waged on the United States than any proposition that was their part in any spirit of oppression or for any ever before Congress. 1 believe in my heart, to purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of day, that it would carry an overwhelming majoroverthrowing or interfering with the rights or esof the people of my State; ave, sir, and of tablished institutions of those States, but to denearly every other State in the Union. Before fend and maintain the supremacy of the Consti-Senators from the State of Mississippi left tution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States un-

sumes, at least, to be the President of the Southimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are ern Confederacy, proposed to accept it and to accomplished the war ought to cease. maintain the Union if that proposition could re-Again mark the words: "This war is not ceive the vote it ought to receive from the other waged on their part (the Federal Government) in ide of this Chamber. Therefore, of all your opositions, of all your amendments, knowing any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of as I do, and knowing that the historian will write conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowit down, at any time before the first of January, a two third vote for the Crittenden resolutions in ing or interfering with the rights or established this Chamber, would have saved every State in institutions of those (Southern) States." It will the Union, but South Carolina. Georgia would be recollected that on the 18th day of June last, have been here with her representatives, and the so-called Union State Convention which met Louisiana also-those two great States, which in this city, reaffirmed the sentiments expressed at least, would have broken the whole column of secession. Yet, sir, it has been staved off-staved in the resolution of Mr. CRITTENDEN and made it off for your futile railroad bill; and where is it the basis of its platform. Will they regard it so to-night? Staved off by your tariff bill; staved now? Under the solemn declarations as to the purposes of the Government in the prosecution On the same day, p. 1391, Mr. Douglas thus of the war, men of all political opinions and especially those who were opposed to the party doc-The Senator has said that if the Crittenden trines and policy of the party represented by the proposition could have been passed early in the ssion, it would have saved all the States, ex | National Administration, cheerfully and promptept South Carolina. I firmly believe it would. ly responded to the calls of the President for White the Crittenden proposition was not in actroops and money to suppress the rebellion and

cordance with my cherished views, I avowed my restore the supremacy of the Constitution. readiness and eagerness to accept it, in order to save the Union, if we could unite upon it. No Now in the face of these solemn declarations. man has labored harder than I have to get it in violation of good faith, in total disregard of passed. I can confirm the Senator's declaration, the pledges made to the country, the President that Senator Davis himself, when on the commitissues his emancipation proclamation. It is, howtee of thirteen, was ready, at all times, to comromise on the Crittenden proposition. I will go ever, only a paper proclamation, and can have no effect only as the forces of the United States oc-On the 16th of July, 1861, John C. Breckin- cupy the insurrectionary or rebellious districts. RIDGS, a Senator from Kentucky, made the tol- The experiment of emancipating by proclamalowing declarations upon the floor of the Senate: tion has been tried before in this country, and It was stated upon the floor of the Senate by without satisfactory results. In Borra's history the late Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas), of the war of independence of the United States, and I happened personally to know the fact myself, that the leading statesmen of the lower vol. 1, p. 230, will be found the following in ref-Southern States were willing to accept the terms | erence thereto:

of settlement which were proposed by the vener Lord Dunmore proclaimed martial law; the efable Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden). fect of which would have been to suspend all civil authority in the province. He exhorted the The Republican p rty, from the evidence pre- lovalists to repair to the royal standard, to retain sented, were unwilling to compromise—they pre- in their hands the contributions due to the crown. as well as other taxes, until the re-establishment ferred civil war to peace. In the language of of peace. Moreover he declared free all slaves Senator Chandler, of Michigan, they did not or servants, black or white, provided they should think the "Union worth a curse without a little take arms and join the royal standard. This blood letting." Will not the verdict of the coun- proclamation, and especially the clause concernbe with the declaration of Mr. Douglas, extremely deficient in prudence and moderation, ing slaves, proved that Lord Dunmore was a man Hence, the sole responsibility of our disagree- but produced none of the effects he had ex-

ment, and the ONLY DIFFICULTY in the way of an | rected. In the colonies, and even in all other counamicable adjustment, is (as it has been from the tries, a universal cry arose against a measure which tended to disturb society in its very found ations, to destroy domestic security, to engender mortal suspicions, and to excite a race, naturally ferocious, to vengeance and murder. In fact, claring the slaves of all in rebellion against the this step of the Governor was not merely useless-it was pernicious; it irritated the minds of Federal Government, or who render allegiance the greater number, and gained over none to the so-called Confederate States, free after the

The historian adds that, of the few who were 1st of January, 1863; abrogating the fugitive enlisted by Lord Dunmore, and were pressed into slave law; pledging compensation to the loyal a fight at Norfolk, "they behaved very shabbily,

and saved themselves by flight." citizens of the slave States who may be injured There can be but little doubt that the proclaby these measures, and renewing his scheme of mation of Mr. Lincoln will have a similar effect compensatory emancipation and colonization proand will be followed by similar results. We can see no object to be gained by it, unless it be to The issue of abolition is thus placed by Mr. satisfy, or we may better say to gratify, to use Lincoln directly and unequivocally before the the language of the resolution passed by the country. It cannot be avoided. The people at House of Representatives the 11th day of Febthe elections this fall must decide the one way or ruary, 1861, "those persons in the North too insignificant in numbers and influence to excite the We propose to examine the pledges made by serious attention or alarm of any portion of the the dominant party to the country upon the slavepeople of the Republic." It cannot be that the ry question, and the manner in which this plight-President thinks it of more consequence to conciliate this insignificant class in the North than In the United States House of Representatives, the conservative citizens, significant in numbers on the 11th day of February, 1861, the following and influence, and who have sustained his Administration, not only by moral influences, but Resolved, That neither the Federal Government, nor the people or Governments of non- with men and money whenever he asked for slaveholding States, have a purpose or a constitu- them

tional right to legislate upon or interfere with What possible good can come from the procla-Resolved, That those persons in the North who | mation? We confess we can see none. On the do not subscribe to the foregoing proposition are other hand, its effect must be to increase the embarrassments of the Federal Government. can have no more influence in freeing the slaves rease of their numbers and influence does not in the districts where the national authority does keep pace with the increase of the aggregate not extend, than did the blast of King James against tobacco in stopping the use of the weed. Mark the words. No "constitutional right to It will not add one volunteer to the army of the legislate upon or interfere with slavery in any of Union, for the Abolitionists have as much repugthe States of the Union." After the adoption of nance to culisting in the war, as has the rabid the resolutions, at the suggestion of some of the dog to water. Its influence will be to destroy members who could not conscientiously subscribe what there is left of Union sentiment in the to the latter, the first was amended so as to read | South and unite the Southern people more firmly as follows, and it was adopted by an unanimous and enthusiastically in the vigorous prosecution of the war on their part. It is a confestion of Resolved. That neither Congress, nor the penweakness-an acknowledgment that twenty millions of white people, with every advantage on their erfere with slavery in any of the slaveholding side, can not conquer six millions of whites, shut out from the world, and entirely reliant upon their Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural message, stated own resources to carry on the war. And it must that the people of the Southern States had no have the effect to weaken the confidence of that just cause for the apprehension which seemed to portion of the Northern people, and they are nuexist among them that their property and their merous and influential, in the Administration, peace and personal security were to be endanger- who are honestly opposed to the abolition of slaveed by the accession of a Republican Administra- ry, and to create dissatisfaction with those in tion; and he quoted from one of his own speeches | the army who are opposed to making the war an abolition crusade. "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to

There was no necessity for the proclamation. States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful It was ill-timed and unwise. The very object right to do so, and I have no inclination to do which Mr. Lincoln expects to accomplish by his proclamation, the freeing of the slaves of the rebels, can be attained when our forces occupy rebel territory, as has been ready done, without the necessity ed them. And more than this: they placed in the resorting to a public order which can have no datform for my acceptance, and as a law to vitality without Federal bayonets to back it. Mr. hemselves and to me, the clear and emphatic res- Lincoln professes to have a high reverence for "Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the Constitution. That instrument is no less the rights of the States, and especially the right | binding in war than in peace. Would be have

with slavery in any of the States of the Union." Mr. Lincoln reiterated these sentiments in his inaugural. He said, "I believe I have no lawful right to do so." The course of the President, after declaring but a few days ago, that his sole purpose was to restore the Union as it was, under the Constitution, must create distrust in the public mind as to his stability of purpose, and to intensify divisions of sentiment. Mr. Lincoln, like every other citizen, is a creature of the Constitution. He has no more right to disregard it than the humblest citizen of the Government. At all times, in war as well as in peace, the Constitution is the "supreme law of the land." He has no Constitutional power to issue the proclamation. It is forbidden in the Constitution, in spirit, if not in letter, from beginning to end. He can find no power in that instrument, none the Federal Government as did the colonies to whatever, on which to base his right to issue a Great Britain. We quote from that print in con decree emancipating slaves. He has no power firmation: under military law. Military law does not destroy the fundamental civil law. His proclamation, then, is nothing more than an attempt to override the Constitution, the very crime which is charged against the rebels. The policy of Mr. Lincoln as foreshadowed in his proclamation is unwise. The domestic and social institutions of 19, 1861. the Southern States are based upon its present system of industry. They can not be destroyed without vast injury to, if not the total destruction of the material interests of that section of the country. The sudden emancipation of slavery, if it could be accomplished, as proposed by Mr. Lincoln, would be disastrous not only to the whites, but equally so to the blacks. The Southern States, in such an event, instead of being a

would become a burden to the latter, and for long years to come a sore weight and crushing tax upon the industry of the North. Mr. Lincoln proposes to compensate the loval men of the South for their losses under his emancipation scheme. What right has he to make be respected? Do the people of Indiana feel inclined to be taxed to pay for the slaves of even the loyal men of the South? The President's colonization scheme is also visionary and impracticable. If carried out, it will be another weight added to the industry of the North. Labor is the source of wealth. But Mr. Lincoln propose to send out of the country the labor which has been productive, and which would be in the fu-

Do the people desire to be taxed for such a pur-The proclamation of Mr. Lincoln is a blunder, and so great a blunder under the present condi tion of public affairs is fraught with evil. We cannot imagine what pressure has driven the President into the step he has taken. We are charitable enough to believe it was not the impulses of his own unbiased judgment. We have heard it stated, as conthat in sixty days we should have either an ignocommitted a gross error. A refusal to comply of the people

But the die is cast. The issue of abolition is now fairly made up. The people of Indiana must decide at the ballot box whether they are for or against it.

The President's Proclamation.

The Journal, after long consideration, finally half way indorses the President's emancipation to refer to two points it makes in its effort to say something upon the subject. The first is this: The proclamation is too sweeping in emancipating the slaves of loval men in the rebel

is a large Union sentiment in the South now who have control of the State Governments. which only needs protection to be developed. Is

Wherever that proclamation can be made ope rative, there the rebellion loses its foundation And how is it to be made "operative?" Can it be in any other way than by overthrowing the rebel armies, and occupying rebel territory? Until cannot be made effective-it is as inoperative, as been in rebellion against the United States. useless, as the paper upon which it was written. Even if the President had the right to issue the question, and the effect will be to introduce conof weakening it will give strength and vigor to slavery, but it would be the destruction of the service. slave States, and loval and disloval would suffer alike. The sympathy of common interest will consolidate the entire South, and instead of weak. ening the rebellion the proclamation will help to

and still greater efforts in their cause. If the President has the right to free the slaves, as it is claimed that he has under the war power, as a means necessary to suppress the rebellion, he to make bondmen of the negroes. If the se ceded States are vet within the Union, as stitution must be operative over them. occupied by rebel forces of the United States shall be deemed captives of war and shall be Union, and are not subject to the Constitution, then a proclamation by the President to free the serfs of Russia would be just as operative as the A fair construction of the Journal's argu-

ments, if they can be dignified as such, amounts to just this; that in its view the means justifies tive is alleged to be due, is his lawful owner, and the end-that the President can, in the prosecu- has not been in arms against the United States tion of the war, do just what we charge against the rebels, disregard all constitutional obligations. If violation of the Constitution and the laws by shall make any pretence whatever to assume to the rebels is a crime, similar acts by those who decide on the validity of the claim of any person claim to be loyal citizens are none the less to the service or labor of any other person, or Emancipation proclamations have been tried before. The British Government in both the war of gaged in the military and naval service of the

the revolution and in the war 1812 issued procamations offering freedom to all slaves who sections above recited, and the Executive will in would join its cause or come within their lines, due time recommend that the citizens who shall but few responded. Then the sentiment of our own country revolted at what was justly regarded as acts of barbarism. In the controversy which spective States, shall be compensated for all arose upon the subject in the war of 1812-15, losses they have sustained by acts of the United JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, then Secretary of State, in measure of the British Government;

They (the British) had no right to make any such (emancipation) promises to the negroes. The principle is, that the emancipation of an enemy's slaves is not among the acts of legitimate war; as relates to the owners, it is a destruction of private property nowhere warranted

by the usages of war. rive years afterward Mr. Apans most emphatically denied the right of a belligerent to emancipate slaves. He said:

issued such a proclamation in time of peace? by writers who admit any limitation. The right Congress in February, 1861, declared it had no of putting to death all prisoners in cold blood, "constitutional right to legislate upon or interfere and without special cause, might as well be pretended to be a law of war, or the right to use poisoned weapons, or to assassinate. Such were the sentiments of John Quincy ADAMS and our Government in 1815 and in 1820.

In 1775, Lord DUNMORE, the British Governor of Virginia, attempted to promote the interests of the British Government by offering freedom to a 1 slaves who would rise and assist him. What says a British historian in regard to this infamous

In the colonies, and even in all other countries, an universal cry arose against a measure which tended to disturb society in its very foundations, to engender mortal suspicions, and to excite a race naturally ferocious, to vengeance and mur-

The colonies then were in rebellion against the British Government. According to the Journal the rebel States occupy the same position toward

We believed, and still believe, that the true province of Government is not more to preserve itself than to adapt itself to the demands of the governed, and that a war to maintain one Government over those who believe that they would be better off under another, is unwise, cruel, and, in Americans, inconsistent .- Journal, January

It is said that the proclamation of Lord Dun-MORE "was not merely useless; it was pernicious; it irritated the minds of the greater number, and gained over none." The Journal, while conceding that the proclamation can do no good, only where it can be made operative, and that must be by the occupation of the rebel territory, favors a pernicious policy, the effect of which is to irritate the minds of the greater number.

while gaining over none. source of wealth to the balance of the Union. In 1775, 1815, and in 1820 our own people execrated the same measures as revolting to the civilization of the age, which the Journal now approves not only, but extols. We ask every good citizen to think candidly of these things. such a pledge, or what probability that it will We condemned as impolitic not only, but as infamous, the very policy now proposed by the radicals and which we said was a violation of the laws of nations and of the rights of belligerents. While we utterly condemn the rebellion and are in favor of the most vigorous measures which will accomplish the restoration of the national authority and the national unity, and, as Mr. Lixture under the system which has controlled it. conx declared it to be his first and most ardent The negroes can not be colonized, even in part, wish, the restoration of all the States to their only at an immense cost to the public treasury. constitutional rights, we should fail in manliness if we did not deprecate measures which, as a people we have condemned, and which all civilzed countries declare to be barbarous, inhuman, unjustifiable, and as illegitimate warfare.

Proclamation by the President

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United minious peace, acknowledging the Southern States of America, and Commander in Chief of Contederacy, or else a dictator. What means the army and navy thereof, do hereby proclaim the assembling of Governors at Altoona, Pa? and declare that hereafter as heretofore, the war Has Mr. Lincoln anticipated one of the objects will be prosecuted for the object of practically which they had in view? If the President issued restoring the constitutional relation between the the proclamation under such a constraint, he has United States and the people thereof in which States that relation is or may be suspended or with such a demand, no matter from what source disturbed, and that it is my purpose upon the it came, would have enshrined him in the hearts next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of practical measures tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, which States may then have voluntarily adopted or thereafter may voluntarily adopt the mediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits, and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon the continent or elsewhere, which proclamation. It is our purpose at this time only the previously obtained consent of the Government existing there will be continued. On the first of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons as slaves within any State or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States The Journal and the Republican prints gener shall be thenceforward and forever free, and the ally have asserted over and over again that there | Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such overridden and kept in abeyance by the usurpers persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

not the proclamation, if it could be made effect January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate ive, a gross miustice to that class? The Journal the States and parts of States if any in which concedes that it is wrong in that regard. Again, the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall, on that day, be in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections, wherein a majority of the qual fied voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong counteracting testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence our forces conquer the rebels the proclamation that such State, and the people thereof, have not

That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress, entitled an act to make an additional article of war, approved March 13, 1862, and edict of emancipation, it was ill timed and un- which act is in the words and figures following:

necessary. What he intends to accomplish by it Be it enacted by the Senate and House of kep has been practiced wherever our army has had the resentatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That hereafter the followcontrol. And it would have been far wiser if he ing shall be promulgated as an additional article had left the whole matter to the fate of the war. of war for the government of the army of the That would have been the true policy. But the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed proclamation opens anew the discussion of the as such: "Art .-- . All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces untention and doubt where harmony and confidence | der their respective commands for the purpose of are necessary to our national salvation. Instead returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any person to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due; and any officer the rebel cause. The freeing of the slaves as who shall be found guilty by a court martial of proposed by Mr. Lincoln would not only destroy violating this article shall be dismissed from the

"Sec. 2. And be it further enacted. That this act shall take effect from and after its passage." Also, to the 9th and 10th sections of an act entitled, "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes, recruit the rebel armies and excite renewed zeal approved July 17th, 1862," and which sections are in the words and figures following:

Sections 9 and 12. Be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid would have an equal right, for the same purpose, or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons to make handmen of the negroes. If the se and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of Mr. Lincoln and the party he represents the Government of the United States, and all pronounce them to be, certainly the Con- slaves of such persons on being within any place In that case is not his proclamation an usurpation forever free of their servitude, and not again held

Section 10. And be it further enacted. That no slave escaping into any slave territory of the District of Columbia, from any of the States, shall be delivered up or in any way impeded or hindred of his liberty, except for crime or some offense against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugiin the present rebellion nor in any way giving aid or comfort thereto, and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States surrender up any such person to the claimant on pain of being dismissed from the service.

And I do hereby enjoin upon all persons enited States to observe, obey and enforce within their respective spheres of service the act and have remained loyal throughout the rebellion shall, upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their re-States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my behalf of our Government, thus characterized this hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington this the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-second.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. WM. H. Saward, Secretary of State.

COL. WILDER EXCHANGED.—General Buell has effected the exchange of Col. Wilder, giving for him twenty-two privates and one Lieutenant. Col. Wilder is now with Buell's advance, under No such right is acknowledged as a law of war | Gen. Wood .- Louisville Domocrat.